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TEM NO:

7 NOVEMBER 1974 DATE:

SUBJECT:

CHINESE PROPOSAL COULD LEDAD TO BORDER SETTLEMENT

WITH USSR

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VARIOUS PRESS, 7 NOV 74, UNCLASSIFIED

IN AN UNUSUAL DISPLAY OF TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY, PEKING HAS SURFACED A PACKAGE PROPOSAL FOR AN AGREEMENT WITH THE USSR THAT COULD LEAD TO A BORDER SETTLEMENT .

THE PROPOSAL IS CONTAINED IN A MESSAGE FROM THE CHINESE TO SOVIET GOVERNMENTS MARKING THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLU-IT CALLS FOR A MUTUAL NON-AGGRESSION AND NON-USE OF FORCE PACT: A MUTUAL TROOP PULLBACK FROM DISPUTED BORDER AREAS: MEASURES TO AVERT ARMED CONFLICT ALONG THE FRONTIER, AND MAINTENANCE OF THE EXISTING STATUS QUO OF THE BORDER ITSELF.

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THE CHINESE HAD MADE A SIMILAR PROPOSAL IN PRIVATE TO THE PUBLICAY
AGRESSION PACT WITH THE SOVIETS. THE CHINESE HAD GREETED EARLIER
AND WELL-PUBLICIZED SOVIET CALLS FOR A NONAGRESSION PACT WITH STONY
PUBLIC SILENCE AND PRIVATE CONTEMPT. CHINESE OFFICIALS ARGUED THAT
THE SOVIET PROPOSAL WAS HYPOCRITICAL AND THAT ANY SUCH TREATY
WOULD HAVE TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY A WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM
THE FRONTIER.

THIS LINKAGE REMAINS IN THE NEW CHINESE PROPOSAL. PEKING MAY
BELIEVE THAT MOSCOW, BY PUBLICIZING ITS OWN, APPARENTLY ACCOMMODATING PROPOSALS HAD CREATED A DEFAVORABLE INTERNATIONAL IMPRESSION,
PARTICULARLY AMONG FOREIGN COMMUNIST PARTIES. THE CHINESE WOULD
ALSO WISH TO APPEAR MORE FLEXIBLE AND MAY HOPE TO CREATE DIFFICULTIES
FOR SOVIET EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE AN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST CONFERENCE.

AS LONG AS A NONAGGRESSION AND NON-USE-OF-FORCE PACT REMAINS
LINKED TO THE QUESTION OF WITHDRAWAL OF SOVIET FORCES FROM THE
BORDER, CHINA ALMOST CERTAINLY EXPECTS THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL
FIND THE PACKAGE UNACCEPTABLE. NEVERTHELESS, THE NEW PROPOSAL

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REPRESENTS THE FIRST RECASTING OF THE CHINESE POSITION SINCE THE TALKS BEGAN.

IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT THE CHINESE WISH TO CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT PRODSPECTS FOR IMPROVED SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS MAY NOT BE AS DIM AS MOST OBSERVERS BELIEVE. THIS MAY REFLECT A TACTICAL MANEUVER BY PEKING TO REDUCE SOME OF THE LEVERAGE HELD BY THE US AGAINST CHINA, ESPECIALLY IN ADVANCE OF PRESIDENT FORD'S TRIP TO VLADIVOSTOK AND ANY FUTURE TRIP BY SECRETARY KISSINGER TO PEKING.

IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THE NEW PROPOSAL WAS DESIGNED AS A SOP TO THOSE IN CHINA WHO MIGHT FAVOR SOME REDUCTION IN CHINA'S HOSTI-LITY TOWARD THE USSR. ARTICLES IN THE CHINESE PRESS SUGGEST THAT MAD MAY SUSPECT THAT ELEMENTS IN THE MILITARY HARBOR SUCH VIEWS.

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